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ART. X.—*On the Indian Embassies to Rome from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian.* By OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX, Esq.

AFTER the Singhalese embassy to Claudius, the Indian embassies to Rome were few and far between. To the death of Justinian, A.D. 565, four only have been noticed, and barely noticed, by historians. The first, to Trajan,¹ was present with him at the great shows which he offered to the Roman people, A.D. 107. The second, to Antoninus Pius,² A.D. 138, 161, came to pay homage to his virtues. The third, to Julian,³ though intended, Zonaras asserts, for Constantius, reached him, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, before it was expected, A.D. 361, and included ambassadors from the Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (the Singhalese), who now for the first time appear under their own name, and the name by which they were known to the Arabs. And the fourth, to Justinian,⁴ brought him gifts, and was at Constantinople, A.D. 530.

These are but scant memorials of petty diplomatic courtesies, and scattered as they are over nearly 500 years, they do little to illustrate the intercourse between Rome and India, which, during

¹ Προς δε τον Τραιανον ες την Ρωμην ελθοντα πλεισται οσαι πρεσβειαι παρα βαρβαρων αλλως τε και Ινδων αφικοντο· και θεας . . . εποιησεν εν αις θηρια . . . χιλια και μυρια εσφαγγη· οτι ο Τραιανος τους παρα των βασιλεων αφικνουμενους εν τω βουλευτικω θιασασθαι ποιει.—Dio. Cassius, L. 68, 156; Iv. 313 p. Bekker.

² "Quin etiam Indi Bactriani Hyrcani legatos miserunt justitiâ tanti imperatoris compertâ."—Aurelian Victor, Epit. xvi.

³ Perinde timore ejus adventus . . . legationes undique solito ocus concurrebant . . . nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus abusque Divis et Serendivis, Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii., 7, 277, p. i; but Zonaras Εχρηματιζε δε και πρεσβεισιν εκ διαφορων εθνων σταλειςι προς τον Κωνσταντιον.

⁴ Εν παντφ δε τφ χρονφ (A.D. 530,) και πρεσβευτης Ινδων μετα δωρων κατεπεμφοη εν Κωνσταντινουπολει, when John of Cappodicia (v. Smith, Biog. Dict.) was prætorian exarch. Malala, p. 477.

the first half of these long centuries, reached its highest point of development, while during the last it had so fallen away that, in so far as it was direct, it may be regarded as extinct. Of that intercourse I now propose to give a rapid sketch.

The discovery of the monsoons, and the distracted state of the Parthian Empire had, at the beginning of the second half of the first century, the close of Claudius' reign, driven the whole of the trade between the East and West to the great city of Alexandria.¹ Its people, quick-witted, but restless of disposition and excitable of temper, grew wealthy, and grew insolent as they grew wealthy. The person and character of the sovereign was a favourite theme for their ridicule;² and on every slight occasion, when not taken up with factious fights among themselves, they rose in tumult against their governors, and sometimes even in revolt against the State. The emperors looked upon them with no friendly eye. And it was, perhaps, as much to abate their insolence as to forward the interests of trade, that Hadrian put an end to their monopoly, and admitted Palmyra into the commercial system of the Roman Empire.³ Under his patronage, and that of his successors, the Antonines,⁴ who lived

¹ Dio Chrysostom, time of Trajan, speaks of it as second only to Rome, *πολις δεύτερα των υπο τον ήλιον*, Oratio xxxii., 669, 70 p; while Cosmas calls it *Μεγίστη πολις*.—Montfaucon, *Nova Collectio Patrum*, I., 124.

² See Hadrian's letter to the Consul Servianus in Flavius Vopiscus: "Genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, impurissimum: civitas opulenta dives fecunda . . . utinam melius esset movata civitas . . . huic ego cuncta concessi . . . et in filium Verum multi dixerunt, et de Antinoo quæ dixerunt comperisse to credo."—Augustæ Scriptores, 234, II. Dio Chrysostom speaks of the turbulent sneers, and mocks, and angry hisses with which they greeted both king and private man, *οὐκ ἐδίσσα τον ήμετερον θρονον, ουδε τον γελωτα, ουδε την οργην, ουδε συριγμους, ουδε τα σκωμματα οἷς παντας εκπληττετε . . . και ιδωτην και βασιλεια*, id., p. 664; and that this had estranged the emperors we may gather from p. 687, *εις υποφειαν αυτους καθ' ήρων ηγαγετω*. Also p. 700, Reiske ed. And Ammianus Marcellinus "Sed Alexandria in internis seditionibus diu aspere fatigata."—xxii., 16 §, 207 p.

³ Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopedie*, art. Palmyra. Not, however, forgetting that between India and Palmyra trade already existed; for Trajan, having descended the Tigris, *επ' αυτον τον Ωκεανον ελθων . . . και πλουτον τι ες Ινδιαν πλιον ιδων*.—Cassius, I., 67, c. 23.

⁴ Of works treating of India belonging to this period we have—The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (A.D. 81, 96); Prolog. de Auct. Perip., p. xevii., I. Geog. Minor, ed. Didot—a manual of Roman, or rather Egyptian, trade with India; a really original work, the result of the author's own observation and experience as a merchant and supercargo. The *Geography of Ptolemy* (A.D. 138, 161), the first work which makes the circuit of Ceylon, and names the harbours and headlands on its coast, its rivers, mountains, and towns. The *Expedition of Alexander and the Indica of Arrian* (A.D. 150, 160), both compilations, but the compilations

much in the East, and followed out, we have every reason to believe, his policy, Palmyra rapidly developed the advantages which it derived from its position on the nearest route to India. It flourished and grew daily in importance. And when Emesa, almost on its frontiers, and on its high road to Antioch and Damascus, gave to Rome Julia Domna, the wife of one Emperor, Severus, and the mother of another, Commodus, and afterwards two Emperors, Elagabalus and Alexander: sated with wealth it aspired to illustrate itself by other than the arts of commerce; it began to levy or hire armies; it made conquests and acquired territory; it became a power, and for a moment held with Rome divided empire.¹

During the reigns of Severus, his son Commodus, and the pseudo-Antonines, when Alexandria and Palmyra were both occupied with commerce and were both prosperous, Roman intercourse with India was at its height. Then Roman literature gave more of its attention to Indian matters, and did not, as of old, confine itself to quotations from the historians of Alexander or the narratives of the Seleucidian ambassadors, but drew its information from other and independent sources. Then Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 192, 217), thus wrote of the Gymnosophists. They are, he says, Sarmanai, or Brahmins. Of the Sarmanai, the Allobioi neither dwell in cities nor under a roof, but "wear a vesture of bark," and live on acorns, and drink water from their hands, and know neither marriage nor the

of a man of sense and critical acuteness—the one made up from the cotemporary histories of Alexander, the other from the narratives of Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, and Nearchus. We have besides notices of India and Indian manners scattered through several of the numerous treatises of Plutarch and the orations of Dion Chrysostom (A.D. 100), and a longer, and somewhat satirical description of India in his *Oratio in Cœlenis Phrygiæ*; but both drew their information from the common storehouse; and Dion, in his India, as the true pays de Cocagne, merely throws together in one piece the various Indian myths which Ctesias so willingly collected and believed. Among the writers of this age we may also, though with some hesitation, class Q. Curtius (Smith's Biog. Dict., 1 v.), and Dionysius Periegetes (Geog. Min. Proleg., 18 p. II., Didot); but neither had of himself any knowledge of India. The first merely copied and compiled from the old historians of Alexander, and the second, as well in his *Bassarika* as in his *Periegesis*, is *original*? only in so far as he connects the known country of India with the exploits of Bacchus. He says of himself—

εν γαρ μοι βιος εστι μελαιναων επι νηων
ουδε μοι εμπορη πατριωος, ουδ' επι Γαγγην
ερχομαι, οια τε πολλοι.—709 vv.

¹ See de Odenato XIV., the Duo Gallieni III., the Claudius XII., Trigint. Tyran., Trebeli. Pollio., and Aurelian's letter to the Senate, excusing the appearance of Zenobia in his triumphal procession. Vopisci, Hist. Aug. Script., and note 9 to 32 c., vii. L., of Eusebius, Eccl. Hist., Heinichen's ed.

procreation of children. And they are *the* Indians¹ who obey the precepts of Boutta: and him for his exceeding majesty they honour as a god. And in another place, but on the authority of Alexander Polyhistor, he tells of the Brahmans,² how they neither drink wine nor eat of animal food; how some of them break fast daily, others but once in three days;³ how from their belief in a second birth, *παλιγγενεσιαν*, they despise death and are indifferent to life; and how they worship Hercules and Pan. He says, further, that those called Semnoi go naked, and cultivate truth, and foretel the future, and worship a pyramid which is supposed to cover the bones of a god; and that neither Gymnosophists nor Semnoi marry, because marriage they look upon as contrary to law and nature, and they therefore keep themselves chaste; and that there are Semnoi women who also devote themselves to a virgin life; he adds that they observe the heavenly bodies, and through them foretel the future.

The name and precepts of Buddha, and the worship of the pyramid topes, recorded in these passages, are to be found in no other ancient writer whatever. If derived originally from Megasthenes, as is supposed, it is strange that they have escaped the notice of Plutarch and Porphyry, curious in such matters; and still more strange that, as characteristic of one of the great religions of India, they should have been passed over by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus,

¹ In general rendered "And there are Indians," &c. I subjoin the whole passage:—*Καὶ τῶν Σαρμανῶν οἱ Ἀλλοθιοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι, οὔτε πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, οὔτε στέγας ἔχουσιν, δένδρων δὲ ἀμφιεννυννται φλοιοῖς* (Menu vi., 6 §); *καὶ ἀκρυδρῦα σιτῶνται καὶ ὕδωρ ταις χερσὶ πίνουσιν· οὐ γάμοι, οὐ παιδοποιῶν ἴσασιν, ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν Ἐγκρατῆται καλούμενοι. εἰσι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ τοῖς Βουττα πεῖθόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν· τὸν δὲ ζῆ ὑπερβόλην σεμνοτήτος εἰς Θεὸν τετιμῆκασιν.*—*Stromata*, I. xv. I beg attention to the ambiguity of the last paragraph.

² *Βραχμαὶ* . . . οὔτε ἐρψυχὸν ἐσθίουσιν, οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὥς ἡμεῖς, τὴν τροφήν προσιένται· ἐνιοὶ δ' αὐτῶν, εἰς τριῶν ἡμέρων, ὥς φησὶν Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ Πολύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδικαῖς· κινὰ φρονοῦσι δὲ θανάτου, καὶ παρ' οὐδεν ἡγούνται το ζῆν· πεῖθονται γὰρ εἶναι *παλιγγενεσιαν*· οἷδε σεβούσιν *Ηρακλεια καὶ Πανα·* οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ *Σεμνοὶ* τῶν Ἰνδῶν, γυμνοὶ διαίτῳνται τὸν παντα βίον· οὗτοι τὴν ἀληθειαν ἀσκοῦσι καὶ περὶ τῶν μέλλοντων περιμενεύουσι, καὶ σεβούσι τινα πυράμεδα ὅφ' ἦν ὅστια τινος Θεοῦ νομιζοῦσιν ἀποκεισθαι. οὔτε δὲ οἱ *Γυμνοσοφισταί*, οὐθ' οἱ λεγόμενοι *Σεμνοὶ*, γυναιξὶ χρώνται· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ παρανομον δοκοῦσι· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν σφας ἄγνοιος τηροῦσι· παρθενεύουσι δὲ καὶ *Σεμνοὶ*. δοκοῦσι παρατηρεῖν τὰ οὐράνια, καὶ εἰς τῆς τούτων σημειώσεως τῶν μέλλοντων προμαντεύεσθαι τινα.—*ib.* iii., vii.

³ In the *Prabodhatschandrodaya* is an allusion to this observance. The scholar asks of his master why the observers of religious rites eat but one meal in three days. "Wenn Essen und Trinken die Hauptaufgabe des Menschen ist . . . denn warum wird . . . das Leben . . . durch Bussübungen . . . wie in 3 Tagen nur ein Mal speisen, gequält?"—Hirzel's Tr., 23 p., and Menu vi., 18, &c.

and Arrian, who, in their works, have embodied his *Indica*, at least that part of it which treats of the sects and castes of India. But the paragraph with the name of Boutta, at the close of the first citation, is so loosely worded that it is impossible to ascertain whether it refers to the Sammanai previously mentioned, or to some altogether different sect. It is, besides, so clumsily introduced, that it reads like an afterthought, a fact thrown in that it may not be lost, or a piece of information which Clemens had obtained from some of those Indians Dion speaks of as residents at Alexandria,¹ and which he now tacks on to a description notoriously taken from Megasthenes.

Of the second² passage, all that refers to the Semnoi I am disposed to look upon as an addition of Clemens.³ For though

¹ Ad Alexandrinos, ὅρω γὰρ οὐ μόνον Ἑλλήνας παρ' ἡμῖν, οὐδ' Ἰταλούς, &c. &c. ἀλλὰ καὶ Βακτριούς, καὶ Σκυθὰς, καὶ Περσὰς, καὶ Ἰνδῶν τινας, οἱ συνθιῶνται καὶ παρισσιν ἕκαστοτε ἡμῖν.—Orat., xxxii., 672 p., Reiske ed.

² The term Sammanai, as the name of a Hindu sect, was first used by Megasthenes, and is found in Strabo and Clemens cited above; that of Samanēoi belongs to Alexander Polyhistor, and is found in Clemens, in the same section, and just before the passage relating to the Gymnosophists which I have given in the text, and in Cyril, cont. Julianum iv., but is in both writers the name of the philosophers or priests of Bactria, and copied from Polyhistor. After Clemens, who lived at the close of the second and beginning of the third century, it is used by Bardesanes, A.D. 217, to designate, for the first time, so far as we know, the Buddhist priests of India, and in the same sense by Origen (A.D. 244, 249), and lastly, by Hieronymus, close of the fourth century (Epistles, cont. Jovian, pt. i., tr. ii., xxxix.), but expressly borrowed from Bardesanes. But to show that both Clemens and Cyril have been writing from the same authority, I will place their words side by side, observing that Cyril expressly quotes from the Pythagorick symbols of Polyhistor.

Προεστησαν διαντης (φιλοσοφίας) Αιγυπτῶν τε οἱ προφηταὶ καὶ Ασσυρίων οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυῖδαι, καὶ Σαμαναῖοι Βακτρῶν, καὶ Κελτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαντες καὶ Περσῶν οἱ μαγοὶ . . . Ἰνδῶν τε οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ . . . Σκυθῆς ἔτι καὶ Ἀναχαρσις ἦν.—Stromat. I.

Ἱστορεῖ γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ ἐπικλην Πολυίστωρ ἐν τῇ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβολῶν . . . ἐφιλοσοφῆσαν καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους οἱ κεκλημένοι προφηταὶ καὶ μὴν καὶ Ασσυρίων Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυῖδαι καὶ ἐκ Βακτρῶν τῶν Περσῶν Σαμαναῖοι, καὶ Κελτῶν οὐκ ολίγοι, καὶ παρὰ Περσῶν οἱ Μαγοὶ, καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῦς οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταί, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀναχαρσις παρὰ Σκυθῆας.—Cyril cont. Julian, I., xv. (A.D. 375 f.)

³ Bardesanes we examine at length presently.—Origen, cont. Celsum, I. 24, speaking of the innate force of words, ὥς τισι χρωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ τῶν παρὰ Περσῶν μαγῶν οἱ λογιοὶ, καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἰνδοῦς φιλοσοφούντων Βραχμανεὶς ἢ Σαμαναῖοι.—Hieronymus, "Bardesanes vir Babylonius in duo dogmata apud Indos Gymnosophistas dividit, quorum alterum appellat Bragmanos, alterum Samanæos." See, however, Schwanbeck in Müller's Hist. Græc. Tr. 437 p. III, v., and Lassen Ind. Alterthum, III. v., 355-6 pp.

Alexander Polyhistor was a great reader and voluminous writer, he was a compiler merely, and no more professed originality than does an encyclopædia. A native, too, of one of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, he fell upon unhappy times, and, carried away to Rome before mid age a prisoner and a slave, passed the remainder of his days in Italy. Under these circumstances I do not see how he could have heard or learned any new thing about India, anything not already contained in books. But look, now, at Clemens Alexandrinus. He lived in Alexandria, then in frequent communication with India, where Hindus occasionally resorted. He was besides a Christian, and, as a Christian, he necessarily frequented the society of artisans and merchants, and among them, if anywhere, had opportunities of meeting either with Hindus, or with those who had visited India. But could a man of his acquirements, and eager, earnest, and inquiring mind, meet with such men, and not draw from them some information relating to India before unknown? His keeping within the well beaten path of old facts would be to me as surprising as Polyhistor's straying from it. Again, in no known fragment of Polyhistor are the Buddhist priests called *Semnoi*; indeed the term, as applied to them, is found only in this passage. And I can very well understand Clemens choosing it, because, in sound, it sufficiently resembles the Pali *Sammana*, and in sense expresses satisfactorily the ideas attached to an ancient priesthood; and perhaps, also, because unaware of their brotherhood, he thus distinguished the Hindu Buddhist from Polyhistor's *Samanaeos*, or Bactrian priest.

Then Philostratus,¹ a cotemporary of Clemens, published his romance of Apollonius of Tyana, and *Ælian*² his *Varie Historiæ*, in which are many notices of Indian animals and Indian peoples and customs, but from Megasthenes and Ctesias principally. And then, too, Art employed itself on Indian subjects, as we gather from Callistratus' description of the statue of a drunken and reeling Hindu.³ Then Dio Cassius wrote his history, lost in its entirety, but of which the fragments and summary by Xiphilinus sufficiently attest the interest he took in all that related to India. Then, too,

¹ Philostratus published his Apollonius after the death of the Empress Julia Domna, as he himself states, consequently some time after A.D. 217. V. Dio Cassius, L. 78, 6, 24.

² *Ælian* flourished A.D. 225.

³ *Descript.* iv. *περ το Ινδου αγαλμα*, On the statue of an Indian, evidently; and not, On the statue of the Indus, as Lassen renders it.—*Ind. Alt.* III., 73. Callistratus wrote about A.D. 250.

Bardesanes, as we learn from the extracts preserved by Porphyry,¹ gave to the world his *Indica*, the materials for which he obtained, he states, from one Dandaas or Sandamines, the chief of some unrecorded embassy to the Caesars, and whom he met, it seems, at Babylon, in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa,² Elagabalus (A.D. 218, 222). He writes, that the Indian Theosophs, whom the Greeks call Gymnosophists, are divided into two sects, Brahmans and Shamans, Samaneoi. The Brahmans are one family, the descendants of one father and mother, and they inherit their theology as a priesthood. The Shamans, on the other hand, are taken from all Indian sects indifferently,³ from all who wish to give themselves up to the study of divine things.

The Brahmans pay no taxes like other citizens, and are subject to no king.⁴ Of the philosophers among them, some inhabit the mountains, others the banks of the Ganges. The mountain Brahmans subsist on fruit and cow's milk, curdled with herbs.⁵ The others live from the fruit trees, which are found in plenty near the river, and which afford an almost constant succession of fresh fruits; and, should these fail, on the self-sown wild rice that

¹ Porphyry, *de Abstinentiâ*, iv. 17.

² Ἰνδοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς Ἀντωνίνου του ἐξ Ἐμεσῶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Βαρδῆσανγ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Μισσοποταμίας εἰς λαγόνος ἀφικόμενοι ἐξηγήσαντο.—Stobæus *Physica*, i., 54. Gaisford's ed. This reading proposed by Heeren, and adopted by Gaisford, necessarily, it seems to me, brings down our embassy to the reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218, 222), the only Antonine who can be described as of Emesa. Lassen, however, (*ut sup.*, III., 348.) is of opinion that it was addressed to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 158, 181, an error for 138, 151), but as his reference is to Heeren's ed., whose emendation I presume he adopts, I cannot conceive how he arrives at this conclusion.

³ Megasthenes, as quoted by both Arrian and Strabo, had some indistinct notion that the Indian sophistai, or some of them, were not so bound to caste as the other Indians. But Arrian so puts it as if the whole Brahman caste was open. Μοῦνον σφισιν ἀντίται σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντός γενεὸς γινεσθαι, and that because of the austerity of their lives.—*Indica*, xi., 7, xii., 9. Fr. *Hist. Græc.*, II., 427, 429 pp. Didot ed. Strabo, on the other hand, that no man can exercise two trades, except he be a philosopher, πλὴν ἐῖ των φιλοσοφῶν τρεῖς, and this because of their virtue.—*ib.*, p. 430. Diodorus omits the passage: doubtless it was ambiguous.

⁴ Ἀλειτοργήτοι γὰρ οὐτις οἱ φιλοσοφοὶ πάσης ὑπερυγίας, οὐδ' ἐτινων κυριεῦσιν οὐθ' ὑφ' ἐτινων δισπαζοῦνται.—Diodorus, II., 400; Fr. *Græc.* II., 405 p. Menu says, "A king, even though dying, must not receive any tax from a Brahman learned in the Vedas." cxvii., 133. "The temple lands (of Buddhist priests) were invariably free from royal duty."—Hardy, *Monachism*, 68 p.

⁵ "Buttermilk may be swallowed, and every preparation of buttermilk," 10 §. "And every mess prepared with barley or wheat, or with dressed milk," 25 §, v. c., Menu.

grows there.¹ To eat any other food, or even to touch animal food, they hold to be the height of impiety and uncleanness.² Each man has his own cabin, and lives as much as he can by himself, and spends the day and the greater part of the night in prayers and hymns to the gods. And they so dislike company, even of one another, or much discourse, that when it happens, they expiate it by a retirement and silence of many days.³ They fast often.

The Shamans,⁴ on the other hand, are, as I said, an elected body. Whoever wishes to be enrolled in their order presents himself to the city or village authorities, and there makes cession of all his property. He then shaves his body, puts on the robe, and goes to the Shamans,⁵ and never turns back to speak or look at his wife and children, if he have any, and never thinks of them any more, but leaves his children to the king, and his wife to his relations, who provide them with the necessaries of life. The Shamans live outside the city, and spend the whole day in discourse upon divine things. They have houses and temples of a royal foundation, and in them stewards, who receive from the king⁶ a certain allowance of food, bread, and vegetables, for each convent. When the convent bell rings,⁷ all strangers then in the

¹ "Let him eat green herbs, flowers, roots, and fruits," &c., 13 §. "Let him not eat the produce of plowed land," 16 §, vi. c. of the Anchorite ed. But as a Sannyasi, "an earthen water-pot, the roots of large trees, coarse vesture, total solitude,—these are the characteristics of a Brahman set free," 44 § *ib*.

² The Brahman student must "abstain from flesh meat," 177 §, ii, *ib*. "The Manava Dharma affirms that the Brahman who eats flesh loses instantly his rank." —Tr. Rl. As. Soc., 163 p., iii. v.

³ As anchorite, "Let him live without external fire,—wholly silent," vi. 25, *ib*. As Sannyasi, "Alone let him constantly dwell for the sake of his own felicity, observing the happiness of a solitary man—without a companion," *ib*, 42.

⁴ Samanaioi, from the Pali Sammana, found first in Clemens Alexandrinus from Polybistor, and applied to the priests of Bactria.

⁵ "The priest can only possess three robes," 66 p. "From the commencement of his novitiate he is shaved," 112 p. "The wearing of the robe is imperative," 114, 122. Hardy, East. Monachism.

⁶ The regular and usual mode of obtaining food is "to take the alms bowl from house to house," Hardy, *ut sup*. 94, but as we may gather from the Sacred Books of Ceylon and the Legend of Anepidu (Hardy, Monachism, 68 p., and Buddhism, 218 p.), land and food were also provided by kings and rich men for monasteries; indeed, under certain circumstances, the priest is enjoined to refuse the food "that is given statelily to a temple." *Id.*, Monachism, p. 97.

⁷ So in the legend of Samgha: "Au bout de quelque temps le son de la plaque de métal qu'on frappe pour appeler les Religieux s'étant fait entendre, chacun d'eux tenant son vase à la main vient s'asseoir à son rang."—Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddhisme*, 320 p.

house withdraw, and the Shamans enter and betake themselves to prayer. Prayer ended, at the sound of a second bell the servants place before each individual, for two never eat together, a dish of rice; but to any one who wants variety they give besides either vegetables or fruit. As soon as they have done dinner, and they hurry over it, they go out to their usual occupations. They are not allowed to marry or to possess property. They and the Brahmans are so honoured by the Indians, that even the king will come to them to solicit their counsel in matters of moment, and their intercession with the gods when danger threatens the country.

Both Shamans and Brahmans have such a notion of death, that they impatiently bear with life, and view it but as a necessary though burdensome service imposed upon them by nature. They hasten therefore to free the soul from the body.¹ And often when a man is well in health, and no evil whatever presses upon him, he will give notice of his intention to quit the world, and his friends will not try to dissuade him from it, but rather account him happy, and give him messages for their dead relations, so firm and true is the conviction of this people that souls after death

¹ Onesecritus says, when suffering from disease, *Ἀσχίστον δ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεσθαι νόσον σωματικὴν τὸν δ' ὑπονοήσαντα καθ' αὐτὸν τοῦτο ἐξαίρει ἑαυτὸν δια περὶς νησάντα περὶ.*—Strabo, xv., 65. Pomponius Mela more generally, "At ubi senectus aut morbus incessit, procul a cæteris abeunt mortemque . . . nihil anxie expectant . . . Prudentiores . . . non expectant eam sed ingerendo semet ignibus leti et cum gloriâ arcessunt."—III., vii., 40. "On voit . . . dans l'Inde des hommes se brûler sur un bûcher. . . . Cet usage vient de la croyance . . . à la métempsychose."—Reinard, *Rel. des Voyageurs Arabes*, I., 120 p. Yet Menu rather discountenances, except in sickness, voluntary deaths. "If he has an incurable disease," (for an example see Radja-Tarangini, i., 311—12. Note,) "let him advance in a straight line towards the invincible N.E. point, feeding on air and water till his mortal frame totally decay," vii., 31; but 45 *ib.*, "Let him not wish for life, let him expect his appointed time as a herd expects his wages." Similarly the Buddhist. "The rabats do not desire to live, nor do they wish to die; they wait patiently for the appointed time."—Hardy, *E. Mon.*, 287. But from the answer of Punna (Purna) to Buddha, "There are some priests who from various causes are tired of life, and they seek opportunities whereby their lives may be taken, but this course I shall avoid," (*id.*, Buddhism, 260 p.); and from the fact that the perfected priest when "at the point of death would cause his body to be spontaneously burnt" (*id.*, Monachism, 261), we may presume that voluntary deaths among priests, even in Buddha's time, were not unfrequent and permissible on some occasions, *i.e.*, were, as among the Brahmans, not very strictly prohibited, and that Megasthenes very fairly states both the doctrine and the practice, *Ὅσοι τινα δόγμα φησὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαίρει τὸν δὲ ποιούντας τὰυτὰ νεατικὸς εἰνέσθαι*,—Geog. Hist. Græc., II., 439.

have intercourse with one another. When he has received all his commissions, in order that he may quit the body in all purity,¹ he throws himself into a burning pile, and dies amid the hymns of the assembled crowd. And his nearest friends² dismiss him to his death more willingly than we our fellow-citizens when about to proceed on some short journey. They weep over themselves that they must continue to live, and deem him happy who has thus put on immortality. And among neither of these sects, as among the Greeks, has any sophist yet appeared to perplex them by asking, "If everybody did this, what would become of the world?"

Thus far Bardesanes on the Gymnosophists. To form any just estimate of the value of his information, we must compare it with the accounts given by more ancient writers. The companions of Alexander speak of the Indian sophists, and of them as divided into classes, but nowhere mention the Sarmanai³ by name. Thus Aristobulus,⁴ of two Brahmans he saw at Taxila, and who in the presence of Alexander displayed each in his own way his powers of endurance, remarks that the younger wore all his hair, while the other was shaved.⁵ And Nearchus⁶ distinguishes between the Brahmans who are engaged in political life, and are councillors of the king, and those who give themselves up to the study and contemplation of nature, as Calanus. He adds, that with these last women philosophize, and that all lead austere lives. With Megasthenes, as we know him from Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Arrian,⁷ begins our knowledge of the Sarmanai. Of the philosophers gene-

¹ Megasthenes ascribes no particular virtue to the death by fire: it is merely the death preferred by fiery spirits, *τοὺς δὲ πυρῶεις ὡς πυροθούμενους*, *ib.*

² The Relation des Voyageurs Arabes, 9th century, thus describes one of these self-immolations. The man "se met à courir dans les marchés ayant devant lui des cymbales et entouré de sa famille et ses proches." . . . A crown of burning coals is placed upon his head. . . . "Le homme marche la tête en feu . . . et pourtant il marche comme si de rien n'était et on n'aperçoit sur lui aucun signe d'émotion: enfin, il arrive devant le bûcher et s'y précipite."—Reinaud, i. 122.

³ Sarmanai, Sans. Cramanā, used by Megasthenes and his copyists.

⁴ From Strabo, xv., l. 61.

⁵ The shaved head would imply a Buddhist priest, described in the Prabodhatschandrodaya as "Kahlgeschirner, Kopfbüschelverzierter, Haarausrauer," 39 p., and whoever compares the whole account of this shaved Brahman, how he came to Alexander and followed him to the end, with Onesecritus' story of Calanus—save that no mention is made of this Brahman's voluntary death—will be inclined to think that he and Calanus are one and the same person.—Strabo, xv., l. 65.

⁶ Strabo, *ib.*, 66.

⁷ Strabo, xv., l. Diodorus Siculus, II., 35. Arrian, Indica, vii.

rally, he says that they do no labour, pay no taxes, and are subject to no king; that they are present at all sacrifices, whether public or private, and preside over all funeral rites;¹ and that on New Year's day they meet in the king's palace, and there make known the future of the year, its events and harvests, and that he who thrice fails in his predictions is condemned to a life-long silence. These philosophers he divided into Brahmanas and Sarmanai.

Of these the Brahmanas were the most honoured, because their opinions were the most fixed and uniform. The Brahman's education began even in his mother's womb. During the period of gestation she was soothed by songs and chants in praise of continence, which, in proportion as they won her pleased attention, beneficially influenced her future offspring. After the child's birth, and as he grew in years, he was passed on from one preceptor to another, until he was old enough to become an auditor of the philosophers. These lived frugally, abstained from animal food and women, and in a grove outside the city spent their days in earnest discourse, communicating their knowledge to all who chose to listen. But in their presence the novice was not permitted to speak, or hawk, or spit, under the penalty of one day's banishment from their society. At the age of 37 his student life ceased.² The Brahman then returned to his home, lived more freely, wore gold rings and silk, and ate the flesh of such animals as were of no service to man, abstaining, however, from pungent and highly seasoned food. He married, too, as many wives as he could, for the sake of offspring, but did not admit them to a fellowship in his philosophy.

Of the Sarmanai, he writes that the Hylobioi were the most honoured. They dwelt in the woods, and subsisted on leaves and wild fruits, "wore a vesture of bark,"³ and abstained from wine and venery. Through messengers they advised with the king on the causes of things, and were employed by him as his intercessors before the gods. Next to them were the physicians. They, too,

¹ Menu, III., 124, &c., §.

² "The discipline of a student in the three Vedas may be continued for thirty-six years in the house of his preceptor, or for half that time," &c. Menu, III., 1. That on his return home he lived more laxly and elegantly may be gathered from §§ 3, 61, 62, *ib.*, and iv., 34. In the chapter on Diet, from 25—35 §, are the rules to be observed in eating flesh meat. Among the Jains, "A student till he is married should tie only a thread round his loins, with a rag to cover his nakedness." But "as soon as he is married, then he may dress properly at his pleasure."—As. Resear. ix. 248.

³ See on the third and fourth Orders. Menu, vi., 6, &c.

lived abstemiously, but not in the open air. They ate rice and flour, which they seem to have got by begging. They made barren women fruitful. They healed by diet rather than by medicine, and of medicaments preferred cataplasms and unguents. Both they and the Hylobioi would remain a whole day in the same posture. Others were diviners, and skilled in the rites to be observed towards the dead, and wandered as mendicants about the towns and villages. And yet another class, but more urbane and better nurtured than these last, was like them occupied with the things of Hades, in so far at least as they conduced to piety and a holy life. With some of these Sarmanai the women are allowed to philosophize¹ under a vow of chastity.

Another writer, quoted also by Strabo² towards the close of the same chapter, speaks of the Pramne,³ no doubt for Sramnay, as Garmanai for Sarmanai, as of a class opposed to the Brahmans, as argumentative⁴ and contentious, and as jeering the Brahmans for their love of physiology and astronomy. They are Mountain, or Gymnete, or Political, or Rural (*πρὸς ὅλην φύσιν*). The Mountain Pramne are clad in skins, and carry wallets full of roots and medicaments, and in their cures use charms and incantations. The Gymnetes, as their name implies, go naked, and for the most part live in the open air till their 37th year. They admit women to their society, but both they and the women are strictly chaste. The Political⁵ and Rural classes live, the one in the city, and are clad in silks; the other in the country, and "wear for their mantles the hides of goats."

It would appear from these accounts that the companions of Alexander knew of Brahmans only, Megasthenes and our anonymous author of Brahmans and Sarmanai, and that they divided the

¹ Of the Sannyasi, "Let him repair to the lonely wood, committing the care of his wife to her sons, or *accompanied by her*, if she chuse to attend him."—Menu, *ib.*, 3 §.

² Geogr., xv., l., 70.

³ In a paper on the Religious Sects of the Hindus, I find that the late Professor Wilson derives the term Pramne, from Pramana, proof, and inclines to think that they were Baudhdhas; the Sarmanai, on the other hand, ascetics generally. As, however, in his latter years he identified, I believe, the Sarmanai with the Buddhist Shamans, his great authority can scarcely be brought to bear against the view I have taken.—As. Res., xvii., 279, 280 pp.

⁴ So in the legend of Sâṃgha, when in his wanderings he finds a hermitage with 500 Rishis, to avoid receiving him they say one to another, "Continuons de nous livrer à nos occupations ordinaires: ces Çramanas fils de Çakya sont de grands parleurs."—Burnouf, *ut sup.*, 323.

⁵ Menu, vii., 37, and compare 54 and 58, *ib.*

Sarmanai into four classes. But of these four classes, it seems, that while the two first in both writers pretty fairly correspond with one another, the first of one with the second of the other, the two last have no one point in common, and can scarcely be intended to represent the same members of the same society; indeed, the Political and Rural Prammæ are much more like the Brahmins of Megasthenes than his Sarmanai—the one to his Brahmins whose novitiate or student life has ceased; and the other to those of them who are philosophers. Moreover, the Gymnetes, who go naked and live in the open air, and the Hylobioi, clad in bark and subsisting on leaves and wild fruits, bear some resemblance indeed to the Digambara of the Jains¹ and the Brahman Sannyasi as painted by Menu, but very little to the Shaman or Buddhist priest, as we know him, who wears and is obliged to wear a robe of a particular stuff and colour, and who lives on rice and grain generally, but who is also permitted when in bad health to eat ghee, oil, sugar, honey, and even flesh meat.² Again, the anonymous author speaks of the Prammæ in no very favourable terms, much as Brahmins might be expected to speak of Buddhists; but Megasthenes of the Sarmanai with a respect, an admiration really extraordinary, seeing that he was resident at the court of a Brahminical sovereign, Chandragupta, and in such terms, that it may very fairly be doubted whether his Sarmanai were indeed intended for Buddhist priests.

Take now Bardesanes' account. His Brahmins are hurriedly and superficially sketched, as if his pen had been guided by a Buddhist hand. His division of them into Mountain and River³ is unmeaning—really a distinction without a difference, for both led the same ascetic lives in the same sort of solitude. But his Samanecoi, or Shamans are the Buddhist priests of our day. He shows us their order open to all who wish to take upon themselves its duties. But, to enter it, the aspirant must give up wife, and children, and property. He must shave his body and put on the yellow robe, and then retire to some vihâra,⁴ where, having made vows

¹ In the Prabodh Chandrôdaya the Digambara is thus described: "His disgusting form is besmeared with ordure, his hair in wild disorder, his body naked and horrible to the view."—Act III., Taylor's trs.

² Hardy, *Monachism*, p. 92.

³ Corresponding with the "Mountain and Plain" Brahmins, probably, of Megasthenes. — Strabo, *ut sup.*

⁴ In the early days of Buddhism, according to the "Book of the Twelve Observances," (Burnouf, *ut sup.* 304,) another mode of life prevailed. "L'obli-

of chastity and poverty, he lives, supported by the alms of kings and the pious rich, and is thus enabled to pass his days in prayer and discourse on heavenly things. His manner of life is decent, orderly, and temperate even in its austerity, and his retirement is at once cheerful and improving, and contrasts favourably with the sulky loneliness of the Brahman. For though the Brahmans have their *agrabâras*,¹ where the ordinary members of their caste are found collected together, and though the Buddhist ascetic, notwithstanding his convents, occasionally retires to the solitude of the forest, yet is Bardesanes' account of the two priesthoods, in this particular, characteristic of the spirit of the two religions. In it we see the Brahman, who lives by himself and for himself, with his strong will conquering the wants and appetites of his body, but indifferent to the wants and miseries of his fellows; and in it the Buddhist, not less earnest in self-sacrifice, but not neglectful of the social duties, cultivating a kind and genial nature, and knitting his own good to the good of mankind.

But Bardesanes also represents both Brahmans and Shamans as willingly devoting themselves to death by fire. The self-cremation of widows of the higher castes was within even a few years, and until forbidden by law, no uncommon sight in India; but among men, Brahmans, this sort of death has long fallen into disuse. History tells of a Calanus, who, with much parade and of his own free will, died by fire in the presence of Alexander and his army; and of a Comarilla,² who, to purify himself from the slaughter of heretical Buddhists, ascended the funeral pile. But in modern times another form of suicide has been preferred. The Hindu pilgrim now toils up the snowy heights of the Himalaya, to the sacred source of the Ganges, there to die; or he commits himself to its stream, and thus perishes in its holy waters. He suffers and dies to ensure to himself a happy birth in his next existence. The Buddhist also has freely chosen the death by fire as before

gation de se retirer dans la solitude des forêts, celle de s'asseoir auprès des troncs d'arbres, celle de vivre en plein air . . . sont certainement trois règles primitives."—*Id.*, 311 p. Hardy says, "It was an ordinance of Buddha that the priests, who were then supposed to dwell most commonly in the wilderness, should, during the three months of the rainy season, reside in a fixed habitation."—*Monachism*, 222, and Burnouf, 285, 6.

¹ "Agrabhara est le nom de tout terrain ou de tout village particulièrement affecté aux Brahmanes. Dans le sud de l'Inde . . . on ne trouve presque pas d'endroit sans un grabhara habité par des Brahmanes seulement."—*Radjia Tarangini*, I., 348 p., note. Troyer. Trs.

² *Tr. Royal Asiatic Society*, I., 141.

Augustus. And if ever Brahmans did so choose to die, and if these their deaths worked at all on the religious feelings of the vulgar, I have no doubt that for every Brahman who so died two Buddhists stepped forward to die beside him, but with other and higher aims. They died not for themselves, but for the honour of their creed. They died as Buddha, who, in a former existence, laid himself down as food for a hungry tiger; as the Arya Sâṃgha,¹ who flung himself into the troubled sea to save the degraded Nagas; as Purna,² who to preach his master's law, went forth to an expected death. They died as they had lived, for others' good. Their death was but a last and crowning self-sacrifice. Except in this sense, a voluntary death is contrary to the spirit of their religion, and incompatible with its duties.

But the Indian ambassadors also told Bardesanes of a lake in their country, known as the Lake of Probation,³ and of the use they make of it. When any one is accused of a crime, and insists upon his innocence, the Brahmans ask him if he will undergo the trial by water. If he refuse, he is sent away and punished as guilty. If he consent, they bring him down to this lake, and to check frivolous or malicious charges, they bring his accusers down with him. Together they go into the water, which is knee-deep for everybody, and together pass over to the other side of the lake. The innocent man walks along without any fear, and is never wet above the knees; but for the guilty, the water rises and rises till it is quite over his head, and he is then dragged out by the Brahmans, who hand him over to be punished in any way short of death. The Indian, however, rarely pushes matters to this extremity; he too much fears the ordeal by water.

But besides this lake for voluntary, they have also another to try both voluntary and involuntary offences; in fact to probe a man's whole life. Of this lake Bardesanes, and I will quote his very words, has left the following account:—In a very high mountain, situated pretty nearly in the middle of the earth, there was, as he heard, a large natural cave, in which was to be seen a

¹ Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, 317 p.

² *Id. ib.*, 253--4 pp.

Troyer, in his notes to the *Radja-Tarangini*, I., 361, 6 pp., describes several sacred and extraordinary fountains in Cashmere which the credulity of the people, favoured by their distance and inaccessibility, may have easily worked up into the lakes of Bardesanes. See also Olesias' account of a fountain, the waters of which became solid, and when given to drink in water made one tell everything one ever did.—Photius, 147 and 155.

statue,¹ ten or perhaps twelve cubits high, standing upright, with its hands folded crosswise; and the right half of its face, its right arm and foot, in a word, its whole right side was that of a man; its left, that of a woman;² and the indissoluble union of these two incongruous halves in one body struck all who saw the statue with wonder. On its right breast was engraved the sun, on its left the moon; on its two arms were artistically sculptured a host of angels, mountains, a sea and a river, together with the ocean, and plants, and living things, all that is. And the Indians told him that God, after he had created the world, gave this statue to his son³ as a

¹ The Radja-tarangini has a passage which reminds one of this cave and statue. "La possession de la jouissance de la béatitude éternelle devient le partage de ceux qui dans l'intérieur du sanctuaire de Papasudana (qui détruit tout péché) touchent l'image de bois de l'époux Uma. La déesse Sandya entretient dans cette montagne aride, l'eau dans laquelle on reconnaît ce qui est conforme et ce qui ne l'est pas à la vertu et au vice."—I., 32, 33, Slokas. Of this passage, however, Professor Goldstücker has favoured me with the following translation:—"There those who touch the wooden image of Siva standing in the interior of the sacred place Papasudana, attain as their reward worldly enjoyment and final bliss, 32. There on the waterless mountain the goddess of twilight (the wife of Siva) places water to show to the virtuous that which will benefit (agree with), and to the wicked that which will injure (disagree with) them," 33.

² "La réunion de Civa et de Parvati dans un seul corps est le thème de l'invocation par laquelle commence chaque livre du Radja-tarangini . . . Cette forme est l'objet d'une grande vénération dans l'Inde. Je rappellerai parmi les images . . . de l'île d'Eléphantia une statue colossale - représentant Civa moitié homme et moitié femme avec une seule poitrine."—Radj., II., 326, 328 pp.

³ *Τούτων τὸν αἰδριαντὰ φασὶ δεικνύειναι τὸν θίον τῷ ὑπὸ ὀπρῖκα τὸν κοσμον ἐκτίξιν.*—Stobæus, *Physica*, Gaisford's ed., p. 54. This expression indicates a Christian author, and indeed Bardesanes has been identified with the great heresiarch of that name who lived in the second century, and gained so great celebrity by a work on Fate. In this case the Christian author was still living (A.D. 218, 222). Porphyry (A.D. 233, 304), says of the Bardesanes he quotes that "he lived in the time of our fathers." But the Christian Bardesanes presented his book, Cedrenus of the eleventh century affirms, to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138, 161), and Epiphanius (ad. Heres., II., 36, II. v., 477 p.) speaks of him as faithful to the Church up to the death of Antoninus Verus (A.D. 169), and of this book as of one of his orthodox works; but this book Eusebius (A.D. 324) asserts (Hist. Eccl., iv., 24, 30,) he presented to Marcus Antoninus, and further adds that he wrote it in consequence of the persecution of the Christians by Marcus (A.D. 167, 177), and about the time Soter, Bishop of Rome, died (A.D. 179). Now, from the earliest and latest of these dates, the deaths of Antoninus Pius and the accession of Elagabalus, there elapsed thirty seven and thirty-nine years respectively, and our author must either have been very young when he wrote his work on Fate, or very old when he published his *Indica*. Again, the Edessene Chronicle (Assmanni, *Bib. Orient.*, i., 17 p., note, and 389, note), gives the precise date of his birth, July 11, A.D. 154. On this authority he must have been seven years old when

visible exemplar of his creation. And I asked them, adds Bardesanes, of what this statue was made. And Sandanes assured

Antoninus Pius died, and twenty-five when Soter. And at twenty-five he might have written his book on Fate, and at sixty-four his Colloquy with the Indian Ambassadors. But of late years this "Book on Fate," or rather "Book of the Laws of Countries," has been found in the Syriac original, and was in 1855 published in its entirety by the Oriental Translation Fund, together with a translation by the Rev. Mr. Cureton. The work is in the shape of a dialogue. Two youths, who have been discoursing on "fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute," meet with Bardesanes, and appeal to his superior learning and wisdom. They address him sometimes as lord—a homage paid, perhaps, to his rank and relationship with the Abgari—and sometimes as father, a deference due only to his age and experience. He, too, alludes and appeals to former works of his, p. 5. "For it has been said by me in another place." When he wrote this work, then, he must have been a man of at least mid age, and either not born, A.D. 154, or his book not written, A.D. 179. Again, in the book itself are allusions which may assist us in fixing its date. In p. 30, "Because as yesterday the Romans took Arabia and abrogated all their ancient laws, and more especially that circumcision with which they circumcised." Mr. Cureton, Pref. iii., is of opinion that this passage refers to the conquest of Arabia by Marcus Aurelius (Lucius Verus), but of such a conquest by him I find no record, not even in the titles Armeniacus, Parthicus, and Medicus, which the senate so lavishly bestowed on him, and which he afterwards dropped. (Life, Smith's Hist.) But on the other hand, Trajan (Eutropius, viii., 3):—"Arabum regem in fidem accepit," and "Arabiam postea in provincie formam redegit." But to this conquest (A.D. 116) could Bardesanes, even A.D. 167, allude as "of yesterday?" I think not. Severus, however, A.D. 196, again conquered and reduced Arabia to a province (Eutropius, iii., 18). "Arabos simul a fortis est, in ditionem redegit provincie modo." Aurelius Victor, xx., 14, 15, "Persarum regem, Abgarum subegit, Arabas in deditionem accepit; Severi, Hist. Spartianus, Hist. Aug., l. v., 157 p. But if it is of this conquest Bardesanes speaks, then his book can scarcely have been written till after the death of Severus (A.D. 211), or in the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211, 217). But as any such date is wide of the several dates ascribed to this work by the early Fathers, and as these dates are themselves wide of one another, and very indefinite, we will examine how far such a date is consistent with the circumstances. The Edessene Chronicle gives the date of his birth so precisely, that I should be loath, except on evidence, to reject it, A.D. 154. His book, as we have seen, indicates that it was written at least in mid-age, perhaps in old age; if written A.D. 214, it would have been written eighteen years after the conquest of Arabia by Severus,—neither too late nor too early for the "but as yesterday," and when he was sixty years of age,—when he might well quote other works of his own, and be addressed as lord or father. But tradition spoke of this work as having been presented to Antoninus, and hence the embroglio of dates. For that Bardesanes, a Syrian, and of the Abgari, should know and be known by the Emesene Elagabalus is no way improbable; neither is it improbable that on Elagabalus' nomination to the Empire he should present him, evidently of a religious turn of mind, with a work already of repute, and which was Christian, rather because it was catholic, than because it contained any special Christian doctrine; nor that when he so presented it, he should

me, and the others confirmed his words, that no man could tell; that it was not gold or silver, nor yet brass or stone, nor indeed any other known material; but that, though not wood, it was the likeliest a very hard and sound wood. And they told how a certain king of theirs had on a time tried to pluck one of the hairs off from about its neck, and how that he was so struck down with terror, that he hardly recovered his senses, and only after long intercession of the Brahmans. They said that on its head was the image of a god seated as on a throne, and that in the great heats it would run down with such a sweat, as would, unless stopped by the fanning of the Brahmans, wet the earth around. Well, further on, beyond the statue, it was, according to the Indians, very dark, and those who wished to go so far took with them lighted torches, and went on till they came to a sort of door, whence a stream of water welling out fell into or formed a lake in the deepest recesses of the cave. Through this door those who wish to prove themselves are obliged to pass. For the pure-minded it opens itself out very wide, so that they enter easily enough, and within they find a fountain of the brightest and sweetest water,¹ the source of the stream I spoke of. The wicked, however, struggle long and vainly to get in, for the entrance closes in upon them; at length, they are forced to confess their sins, and to ask the others to intercede for them, and they are made to fast a long time.

Sandanes further told, that on a certain day the Brahmans flock to this place; that some spend their lives there, but that others come in the summer and autumn, when fruit is plenty, both to see the statue and to meet their friends, and to prove their lives by means of the door. They at the same time examine and discuss the sculptures on the statue; for it is not easy to understand them

address the Emperor as Antoninus—a name he much affected, and by which he was in Syria generally known. But it is also not improbable that the Christians, who so carefully chronicled the interview of Origen with Mammea, should likewise bruit abroad the honour conferred on this work of Bardesanes, which thus became associated with the name of Antoninus. But the name of Antoninus, as applied to Elagabalus, can scarcely be said to have ever obtained in either Greece or Rome, but see Maerinus Capitolini, vii. Hist. Aug. Script., and in Epiphanius' time was probably only given to Pius and Marcus; what more natural than that our Fathers, when they heard of this presentation copy, should refer it to one or other of these great Emperors—more especially as the work was not heretical, and should therefore be a work of Bardesanes' younger days? though so far as that goes, it might just as well have been written by a Jew as a Christian.

¹ Φασι δὲ ἔξωρτον αὐτοῖς εἶναι μίαν πηγὴν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας πόλιν πάντων ἀσιστῆν καὶ θιοσιστῆν, ἥς οὐδέποτε τοὺς γινώσκοντες ἐμπλασθαι.—Dio Chrysostom, II., 72.

all, both because of their number, and because no one country contains all plants and animals. This, then, is what the Indians relate concerning the ordeal by water.

The Lake of Probation Lassen connects with the ordeal by water; one of the ordeals¹ which, on a deficiency or absence of testimony, is allowed and even prescribed by the Hindu law (Menu viii. 190; and Colebrooke, Hindu Law l. 503 5). Of the manner in which these ordeals are performed, Warren Hastings has given an interesting account in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. In that by water, which, except that it is by water, and conducted by a Brahman, resembles in nothing Bardenanes' Lake of Probation, the accused is made to stand in water, either flowing or stagnant, up to his navel, and then holding the foot of a Brahman, to dive and remain under as long as a man can walk fifty paces very gently, or till two men have fetched back two arrows which have been previously shot from a bow. If, before the man has walked thus far, or the two men have brought back the arrows, the accused rise above the water, he is condemned; if not, acquitted.

In the cave of the second lake, Weber² finds the first Greek notice of a Hindu temple, and Lassen³ sees one of the cave temples so frequent on the western coast of the Indian peninsula. The statue he identifies with that of Siva as Ardhanari, or half-man, half-woman; and of Siva also recognised as the Supreme God. The image on the head is that of the Ganges, the angels are Devas, and the characters on his arms are typical of him as the Creator.⁴

¹ In the Radja-tarangini, the widow of a Brahman applies to the king to punish the murderer of her husband, and names a Brahman whom she suspects, but refuses the ordeal by water. "O radja, cet homme est connu pour être versé dans le fameux art de l'eau, il peut sans crainte arrêter le jeu divin."—iv., 94, 121 p., ll. v. Eventually they try the ordeal by flour of rice, and the Brahman is convicted. "Le roi lui infligea toute punition sauf la punition de la mort." 105.

² Indische Skizzen, 86 p., note.

³ Indische Alterthumskunder, III., 351.

⁴ A statue of Siva and Parvati united, or as Ardhanari, is in the Elephanta cave.—Moor's Pantheon, 98 p. And in pl. 7 and 24 of the same work are representations of Ardhanari, two seated and one standing. On each side of the united deities are the bull and tiger, the Nandis of Siva and Parvati respectively, but in pl. 7 interchanged. In all the figures

"From the moon-silvered locks famed Ganga springs;"

but in pl. 7 the goddess is seen personally with the serpent's head over her; all bear the soli-lunar emblem on the forehead, the drum and trident or sword in the hands, and the collar of flowers or skulls about the neck; but on none are to be found the symbolical characters which adorned the statue of Sandaues.

The door and the great sweat he explains as pious frauds, and the sacrilegious king as a legend invented and promulgated by priests to secure the treasures which they habitually deposited within their statues. On Weber's conjecture I would observe, that the cave is a natural cave, and seemingly in its natural state, without pillars or carvings in relief; but, nevertheless, a cave which the patient fervour of a religious idea may hereafter develope into a cave temple. Lassen's conjectures have an air of probability about them; but still it seems to me that the lake and the cave are each, in its kind, unique; that, with regard to the first, we have no indication whatever of its locality; and, with regard to the second, the very indefinite one, that it is in a very high mountain,¹ somewhere near the centre of the earth; not, therefore, in the country of Sandanes, or Sadanes, if he came from Ardjake, or the Malabar coast, as Lassen supposes. I cannot but think that our ambassadors spoke of this lake and mountain, not from knowledge, but from hearsay, and that they repeated stories current in their country, which they conscientiously believed perhaps, but for which there was about the same foundation as for that Fontaine de Jouvence so famous in old romance.

But as between India and the Roman empire there never existed any interchange of thought or any common sympathies, the allusions to India in Roman literature are at the most but indications of that curiosity which is excited by commercial intercourse. But that intercourse was in the hands of the merchants of Alexandria and Palmyra. These cities, situated the one on the shores of the Mediterranean, the other in the midst of a desert far inland, and halfway between Mesopotamia and Syria, can scarcely be said to have had any direct communication with India. They could not be reached but by a long portage and river navigation: and yet the facilities which the one, as the great seaport of the Roman empire, afforded to the transit of Western merchandize, and the advantages which the other derived from its proximity to India, and the comparatively small cost at which it obtained and delivered the

¹ Perhaps in the N. of India, towards Mount Meru, where also is that cave of Pluto, *παρα τοῖς Ἀπτανοῖς τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς*, described by Ælian, xvi., 16, with its mystic recesses, its secret paths stretching deep under ground, and leading no one knows whither, but down which, when the people drive them, all sorts of animals willingly hurry, never to return; though who will may hear the bleating of sheep, the lowing of oxen, and the neighing of horses, coming up from the depths of the earth.

products of India, gave them the monopoly of Roman trade with the East. The Alexandrian route Pliny¹ has traced out. At Juliopolis, a suburb of Alexandria and its port on the river, our merchants embarked with their goods, and favoured by the prevailing north wind, sailed up the Canoptic branch of the Nile, and in twelve days reached Coptos, distant 303 miles and a city of a mixed population, Egyptian and Arabian,² and communicating with the Nile by a canal. Here they left their boats, and with their merchandize on camel back pushed across plains and over mountains to Berenice, another twelve days' journey, travelling mostly by night, because of the heat, and regulating their halts by the wells on the road. At Berenice, a seaport on the southern frontier of Egypt, they met the fleet intended for India. The ships of which it was composed were large, well-found and manned, and carried besides a body of armed men as a safeguard against the pirates who infested the Indian seas.³ From Berenice, about Midsummer time, or in the beginning of the dog-days, they set sail, and in thirty days made Ocelis, or Cane, the one on the eastern shore of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, the other on the western coast of Arabia in the frankincense country, and thence or from Syagrus to the north of Cane they struck out through the open sea for Muziris, in Pliny's time the haunt of pirates, or for Necauidon (Neleyndon) or Barake, a forty days' sail. At Barake they took in pepper, which was brought there in native boats from Cottonara. In the month of December or in the beginning of January they returned, taking advantage of the south-east monsoon, and, when they entered the Red Sea, of the westerly wind. So far Pliny. But when he wrote the trade with India was in its infancy; as it developed itself, in the marts which Alexandrian ships most frequented, the merchants not improbably found Greek factories⁴ to which they were consigned, and which managed

¹ Hist. Nat., vi., 26.

² Καὶ ἡ εἰς Κοπτον δωρωξ. πολλὴν κοινὴν Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αραβῶν.—Strabo, xviii, l., 44.

³ "Sagittariorum cohortibus impositis: etenim piratæ maxime infestant."—Pliny, *ib.* πλεὶς δὲ εἰς ἐμπορίᾳ τούτῳ μεγάλα πλοῖα, Periplus, 56 §§; and see also the description of an Egyptian ship in the Indian trade from Philostratus' Life of Apollonius, 97 p. xvii., *RI. As. Journ.*

⁴ I have no direct authority for this; but besides such names on the Indian coast as Byzantium, found also in the Periplus, &c., Ptolemy, speaking of the situation of some Indian town, states that he has it from those who had resided in the country some time, παρα τῶν ἐν τέρεσιν εἰσπλευσαντῶν καὶ χρόνον πλειστον ἐπιθούτων τοὺς τόπους καὶ παρα τῶν ἐκίθεν ἀφικομένων πρὸς ἡμᾶς.—Proleg. l.,

all their business with the authorities and the people. In this way we may account for the Greek names of towns on the Indian seaboard, and for that temple of Augustus near Muziris—if it ever existed—which appears in the Peutingerian tables.

Of the course of trade to and through Palmyra we know little. Palmyra, we have every reason to believe, had no ships of its own. Arab, and perhaps native vessels, brought the produce of India up the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates; and, if they did not themselves ascend the river, at Teredon they discharged their cargoes¹ intended for Vologesia, which was reached either by land on camels, or in vessels of lighter draught by the river; but in what time—the distance was nearly 250 miles—I am unable to ascertain. At Vologesia, however, a two days' journey from their city, the merchants of Palmyra took up the trade. In its market or fair, held always at some little distance from the town itself, they met the Arab or Indian traders, and exchanged with them by sale and purchase the manufactures of the West for the goods and produce of India. By this traffic Palmyra silently but so rapidly grew in wealth and power, that its prince and king, Odenatus, with his own forces and by his energy and generalship, saved the Roman empire, and for his services to the Roman state was raised by Gallienus, A.D. 266, to the title of Augustus.² At his death, its queen, his widow Zenobia, ventured to throw off her allegiance to Rome. For a moment she held the sovereignty of the East,³ but was at length defeated and taken prisoner by Aurelian, who at the same time pillaged and destroyed Palmyra,⁴ A.D. 275, and thus put an end to the Roman trade with India through the Persian Gulf.

The Alexandrian trade with India, unlike the Palmyrene, was

xvii. And though much later in time, Procopius says of Abraham, whom the Homerites elected their king, that he was the slave of a Roman, and lived at Adule as (a ship agent or broker). 'Ὁ δὲ Αβραμὸς οὗτος χριστιανὸς ἦν, δούλος δὲ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρός, ἐν πόλει . . . Ἀδουλιᾷ ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίᾳ διατριβὴν ἐχούτος.—De Bello Persico, I., 20.

¹ Vide Strabo, xv., III., 5, and Pliny, vi., 22. Very possibly they sailed up to Vologesia itself, for a passage in the Meadows of Gold, of Massoudi, to which Sir Henry Rawlinson called my attention, speaks of ships from India and China, as, in the 5th century of our era, lying at Hira, a little to the S.W. of Babylon, 247, I., Sprenger's tr., and see also Reinaud's Observations, xxxv. vi. pp., with note I., Relations Arabes.

² Vide Pollio, Hist. Gallieni. Hist. Aug. Script., x., xii., 90, 92 pp.

³ Vide Zosimus, Lib. I., 440.

⁴ Vide M. Aurelianus Vopisci, xxxi. Hist. Aug. Script., II., 176.

not broken up by any one great catastrophe. It remained some time stationary; but from the reign of Caracalla it rapidly declined, and when Palmyra was destroyed, it was in so languishing a state, that, in so far at least as it was a trade directed and controlled by Alexandrian merchants, it may almost be said to have died out. Among the circumstances which affected its prosperity, we may reckon:—

1. The privilege accorded to Palmyra by the Emperor Hadrian. The comparatively short sea passage of the Palmyrene route, and the very situation of Palmyra, must have soon drawn to its markets not only such commodities as were intended to supply the wants of the neighbouring districts, but such also as, before they were fitted for consumption, required the manufacturing aid of the great cities of Phœnicia, as *e. g.*, silk, of which the Indian mart was Neelyndon, and which, if brought over in its raw state or in the thread,¹ was taken to Berytus or Tyre² to be made up into stuffs; or if in stuffs, to Tyre or Sidon to be dyed.³ The Palmyrene route then once opened, must have affected the Alexandrian trade with India, and must so far have counteracted the stimulus given to it, first by Roman protection, and afterwards by the discovery of the monsoons, as to have stayed its further development. But there was ample room for both, and to spare. The Alexandrian people, however, filled with the jealousy and hate usually induced by commercial antagonism, assailed with taunts,

¹ If it was brought in stuffs, was it re-made? Pliny, Philemon Holland's tr. "The Seres kemb from the leaves of their trees the hoary down—'Velleraque, ut foliis depectunt lenoia Seres,' Georgics II., 121—and when it is steeped in water, they card and spin it, yea, and after their manner make thereof a web; whereupon the dames here with us have a double labour both of undoing and also of reweaving again this kind of yarn. See what ado there is about it! What labour and toil it costeth, and how far set it is, and all that our ladies and wives when they go abroad in the street may cast a lustre from them and shine again, in their silks and velvets."—I., 124 p.

² Ἰματία τα ἐκ μεταξὺς ἐν Βηρυτῷ μὲν καὶ Τυρῷ πόλιν ταῖς ἐπὶ Φοινίκης ἐργαζέσθαι ἐκ παλαιῶν ἰσθι. οἱ τε τούτων ἐμποροὶ τε καὶ ἐπιδημιῶν καὶ τεχνίται ἐνταυθα το ἀνικαθεύ ὡκου, ἐνθενδὲ τε ἐς γῆν ἀπασιν φερεσθαι το ἐμπολῆμα τούτο ξυμβαιεν.—Procopius, Hist. Arcana, 25 c., p. 140, and Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv., 9, 7.

³ "Quid lineas Ægypto petitas loquar? Quid Tyro et Sidone tenuitate perlucidas micantes purpurâ, plumandi difficultate pernobiles."—Vopiscus, Carinus xx., Hist. Aug. Scrip. That the stuffs from Tyre and Sidon were of silk, I gather from the difficultate plumandi.—χιτών ἐκ μεταξὺς ἐγκαλλωπισμασι χρυσοῖς πανταχοθεν ὥρανυμενος, ἃ δὲ νενομηκασι πλουρημα καλεῖν.—Procopius de Ædificiis, III., 1., 247 p., and Ammianus Marcell., xiv., 9, 7.

and sneers, and ribald jests those emperors who specially favoured the rival city—Hadrian,¹ who gave it its privileges; and Caracalla and his mother, who were almost native there. Hadrian heard and despised their abuse; Caracalla² treacherously and savagely avenged it; and his massacre of the people and plunder of the foreign merchants was a blow from which Alexandria did not easily recover.

II. The disturbed state of the Roman Empire from the death of Alexander Severus, A.D. 235, to that of Aurelian, A.D. 275. During this dreary period of Roman story, Palmyra almost independent, on a distant frontier, and not subjected to the influences of a turbulent garrison and an ambitious General, went on to the very hour of its fall uninterrupted in its career of prosperity. Under its able chief, from a rich but merely commercial city, it became a powerful State. Alexandria, on the other hand, in the very centre of civil discord, was driven on by its excitable people to take a prominent part in every civil war.³ It itself set up or readily acknowledged as emperor more than one unsuccessful competitor⁴ for the imperial purple. Ever on the losing side, it necessarily suffered much, and was, indeed, once taken and held by the forces of Zenobia, and twice besieged and sacked, and its principal and noblest quarter destroyed, by Roman armies.⁵ Under such circumstances, trade was neglected, and that with India, as carried on from a distant port, so fell away, that it no longer found employment for large fleets of large ships, but was in the hands of a few

¹ Vide note 2, 273 p. *supra*, from the Hist. Aug. Scrp.

² Besides his massacre of the citizens, he compelled all strangers to leave the city, except merchants and *τα κεραιων παντα διηρπασθη*.—Dio. Cass., 22 c., 77 l. He also took away the Jus Bulerarium conceded to them by Severus.—*id.*, 17 c., 51 l.

³ "Sed Alexandria . . . internis seditionibus diu asperare fatigata, ad ultimum multis post annis Aureliano imperium agente, civilibus jurgiis ad certamina interneciva prolapsis, diutisque mœnibus, amisit regionis maximam partem, quæ Bruchion appellabatur, *diuturnum præstantium hominum domicilium*."—Aur. Mar., xxii., 16, 15.

⁴ As Æmilianus, xxi., Tr. Tyranni Treb. Pollio. Saturninus and Firmus, vid. Flav. Vopis., Hist. Aug. Scrp., 123 p., 228, &c., pp., ii. v.

⁵ Eusebius (Hist. Eccl., vii.) tells of the misery and confusion in Alexandria, A.D. 261, the consequence of sedition and civil war; *ib.* 22, of the plague which afflicted it; and *ib.* 32, of its siege and capture, and the destruction of Bruchium. In the Chron. Canon., under Claudius, A.D. 273, "Alexandriæ suburbium post diutinam obsidionem summo, excidio deletum est."—p. 392 ed. Maius et Zohrab.

rich merchants, as Firmus,¹ who probably derived from it more honour than profit.

III. The weakness of the Roman Empire. It was no longer able to repel the incursions of the barbarians, who everywhere pressed upon its ill-guarded frontiers. And the Blennyies, a fierce people, whose heads once did grow beneath their shoulders,² so infested the neighbourhood of Berenice, that Firmus—one of the last of the Alexandrian merchants who sent ships to India—no doubt from motives of interest sedulously cultivated their friendship. They seem to have occupied Coptos and Ptolemais, for Probus (A.D. 279) is said to have recovered these towns from them. But with Coptos—the town where portage on the route to India either began or ended—in the hands of a savage race, Alexandrian trade with India, if not diverted into some other channel, was impossible; and that for the present it came to a stop the wretched state of Alexandria and Rome leads us to believe; but that in time Indian trade again flowed to Alexandria, though under other conditions, and by other means than of old, I shall endeavour to show in another paper.

¹ Vopiscus dwells on the wealth of Firmus: "De hujus divitiis multa dicuntur, nam et vitreis quadraturis, bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis, domum indurisse perhibetur: et tantum habuisse de chartis, ut publico sæpe diceret, evercitum se alere posse papyro et glutino. Idem et cum Blemyis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis;" and then adds, "*naves quoque ad Indos negotiatorias sæpe misit: ipse quoque dicitur habuisse duos dentes elephanti pedum denum.*"—*ib.*, 230, p. 11. Vopiscus describes the wealth of Firmus in so far as it was extraordinary, rare, and with this classes his ships to India. After him I cannot anywhere find that ships went from Alexandria to India.

² "Blennyia capita absunt vultus in pectore est."—Pomp. Mela, I., viii., 60. But Rome was able to form a more correct opinion of them after the triumph of Aurelian in which they figured: "prætor captivos gentium barbarum, Blenyes . . . Indi, Bactriani, Saraceni, Persæ."—Vopiscus, *ib.*, 178, 11. The Indi and Bactriani must have been captives from Palmyra.

³ Vopiscus, Probus xvii., *ib.*, 221, 11.